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SUBJECT: SEOUL - PRESS BULLETIN; August 19, 2009

TOP HEADLINES

All  
Former President Kim Dae-jung Passes Away

#### DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENTS

Former President Kim Dae-jung, Nobel Peace Prize laureate and lifetime advocate of human rights and democracy, died yesterday of complications from pneumonia. He was 85. (All)

President Lee Myung-bak was quoted as saying shortly after the former president's death: "We lost a great political leader today. His accomplishments and aspirations to achieve democratization and inter-Korean reconciliation will long be remembered by the people." (All)

The U.S. Embassy in Seoul, in a press release yesterday, called the late former president an "inspiring leader, a committed activist and a good friend," joining a wave of condolences after his death. (Financial News, Herald News, Newsis, YTN)

Former President Kim's funeral is expected to be held either as a state funeral or a "people's funeral," a public funeral held in the name of the ROK people. The final decision will be made today at a Cabinet meeting. (All)

According to a source in ruling circles, the ROKG is considering resuming direct humanitarian aid to North Korea. (Hankook)

The ROK's first space rocket will be launched as planned today at the Naro Space Center, the country's first spaceport in Goheung, South Jeolla Province. (All)

#### INTERNATIONAL NEWS

President Barack Obama met with former President Bill Clinton at the White House on August 18. It was their first meeting since the

former president went to North Korea to secure the release of two U.S. journalists. Former President Clinton apparently passed on a message from North Korean leader Kim Jong-il. (Chosun, JoongAng, Hankyoreh)

Philip Crowley, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, was widely quoted as saying yesterday: "Clearly, these (the recent five-point agreement between Hyundai Group and North Korea to resume joint projects) are welcome steps in and of themselves as gestures that might open the door for renewed dialogue between North and South Korea. These marginal steps, in and of themselves, are not enough. We want to see them take definitive steps, irreversible steps, toward denuclearization." (All)

In a related development, the ROK and the U.S. will discuss the Hyundai-North Korea agreement when Philip Goldberg, the Coordinator for the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1874, visits Seoul from August 23-24. (Dong-a, Seoul)

#### MEDIA ANALYSIS

##### Former President Kim Dae-jung Passes Away

All ROK media gave above-the-fold front-page play to yesterday's passing of former President Kim Dae-jung, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate and lifetime advocate of human rights and democracy. According to media reports, Kim, the ROK's 15th president, died of complications from pneumonia. He was 85.

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President Lee Myung-bak was widely quoted as saying shortly after the former president's death: "We lost a great political leader today. His accomplishments and aspirations to achieve democratization and inter-Korean reconciliation will long be remembered by the people."

President Barack Obama was also quoted as expressing his condolences by saying: "President Kim risked his life to build and lead a political movement that played a crucial role in establishing a dynamic democratic system in the Republic of Korea. His service to his country, his tireless efforts to promote peace on the Korean Peninsula, and his personal sacrifices on behalf of freedom are inspirational and should never be forgotten."

All ROK media raised the possibility that North Korea may send a high-level condolence delegation to pay tribute to the late president. Conservative Chosun Ilbo, in particular, speculated that North Korean leader Kim Jong-il apparently feels respect for Kim Dae-jung, who was dedicated to inter-Korean reconciliation and national unification during his lifetime and visited Pyongyang in June 2000 for the first-ever inter-Korean summit. Chosun also noted that all major inter-Korean economic cooperation projects, including package tours to Mt. Kumgang and the joint Kaesong Industrial Complex, were initiated during Kim's presidency.

All newspapers carried special lengthy editorials mourning the death of former President Kim Dae-jung. Conservative Dong-a Ilbo, in particular, wrote: "His contributions to ending military rule and advancing national democratization in concert with former President Kim Young-sam will forever be remembered by the people. ... His policy toward North Korea received mixed reviews. He created a reconciliatory environment between the two Koreas through the 2000 inter-Korean summit, promoted personnel and economic exchanges and cooperation, and led reunions of separated families. ... However, he s-e-c-r-e-t-l-y provided more than \$450 million to Pyongyang in return for holding the summit, and failed to change North Korea the way he intended to through his 'Sunshine Policy' of engagement to the North. By sticking to the (Sunshine) policy, he helped the communist regime develop nuclear weapons and missiles, causing internal division in the ROK. ... Creating glory and disgrace, and praise and criticism, Kim Dae-jung is now part of history. His footsteps can hopefully serve as the groundwork for the country's democratic development, economic prosperity, and peaceful reunification."

-N. Korea

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Conservative Chosun Ilbo, right-of-center JoongAng Ilbo and left-leaning Hankyoreh Shinmun ran front-and inside-page reports from Washington that President Barack Obama met with former President Bill Clinton at the White House yesterday. It was their first meeting since the former president went to North Korea to secure the release of two U.S. journalists. The newspapers reported that former President Clinton apparently passed on a message from North Korean leader Kim Jong-il.

Philip Crowley, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, was widely quoted as saying yesterday: "Clearly, these (the recent five-point agreement between Hyundai Group and North Korea to resume joint projects) are welcome steps in and of themselves as gestures that might open the door for renewed dialogue between North and South Korea. These marginal steps, in and of themselves, are not enough. We want to see them take definitive steps, irreversible steps, toward denuclearization."

Conservative Dong-a Ilbo and moderate Seoul Shinmun reported that the ROK and the U.S. will discuss the Hyundai-North Korea agreement during Phillip Goldberg's upcoming August 23-24 visit to Seoul. Goldberg is the Coordinator for the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1874. Dong-a quoted an ROKG official as saying: "At present, the agreement does not seem to be in great conflict with the UN resolution."

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#### OPINIONS/EDITORIALS

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REMEMBERING FORMER PRES. KIM DAE-JUNG  
(Dong-a Ilbo, August 19, 2009, page 31)

Former President Kim Dae-jung died yesterday at age 85. Though he endured a tough life in leading the democratic movement against authoritarian governments, he eventually succumbed to old age. May he rest in peace.

Few figures lived a life as dramatic and left as many legacies as Kim did in modern Korean history. Born to a poor farmer, he was a six-term lawmaker before being elected the 15th president of the Republic of Korea, despite having just a high school diploma. What is also significant is that he became president in an election that marked the first peaceful transfer of power to the opposition in the nation's history. He also helped the economy overcome the 1998 Asian financial crisis in a relatively short period of time. The 2000 inter-Korean summit was held for the first time under his presidency, after half a century of national division, and Kim became the first Korean to receive the Nobel (Peace) Prize.

Kim was a politician with great energy in overcoming challenges with firm determination. He was elected to the National Assembly on his fourth attempt. As such, he was a man with persistence. He thoroughly prepared for everything. He always read books and studied, and wrote down what others said. This is why he knew so much about everything. He rarely made a mistake because he always practiced looking into the mirror before making an important speech.

Kim lived a tough life until becoming president. He was a great leader to people yearning for democracy, but an eyesore to the military governments led by Park Chung-hee and Chun Doo-hwan. He was put under house arrest 55 times and imprisoned for six years. He was banned from political activity and spent time in exile in Japan and the United States. While in Japan, he was kidnapped by a Korean spy agency and taken back to Korea. Though he was sentenced to death for an alleged rebellion conspiracy, namely the 1980 pro-democratic movement in Gwangju, he was rescued by the U.S. government. His contributions to ending military rule and advancing national democratization in concert with former President Kim Young-sam will forever be remembered by the people.

Kim Dae-jung, Kim Young-sam and Kim Jong-pil formed the "three Kims" that dominated Korean politics for decades. Kim Dae-jung was a victim of deep-rooted regional division, but at the same time a beneficiary. In the country's first direct presidential election in 1987, he disappointed the people by failing to agree on a unified candidate. Unfortunately, Korean politicians have acted more for their political interests and not their ideology or policy. The "three Kims" era is over, but regional strife, politicians changing parties for their own interests, and an extreme political culture that denies representative democracy still remains. In this regard, Kim Dae-jung gave politicians tasks to tackle.

With progress in democratization, frequent ideological conflict in society is another serious issue. Regrettably, Kim Dae-jung could have done better during the anti-U.S. beef protests last year, as well as during the rallies in the wake of former President Roh Moo-hyun's death this year. As a former president, Kim Dae-jung could have won more respect if he took the lead in unifying the people rather than encouraging political divisions by calling incumbent President Lee Myung-bak, who was democratically elected, a "dictator."

His policy toward North Korea received mixed reviews. He created a reconciliatory environment between the two Koreas through the 2000 inter-Korean summit, promoted personnel and economic exchanges and cooperation, and led reunions of separated families. Though business cooperation at the Kaesong industrial complex and tours to Mt. Kumgang are being hampered by the North's provocations and

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stubbornness, they will be remembered as part of his legacy if they are resumed. However, he s-e-c-r-e-t-l-y provided more than \$450 million to Pyongyang in return for holding the summit, and failed to change North Korea the way he intended to through his 'Sunshine Policy' of engagement to the North. By sticking to the (Sunshine) policy, he helped the communist regime develop nuclear weapons and missiles, causing internal division in the ROK.

Because of the persecutions he had to endure, Kim Dae-jung paid extra attention to human rights while president and while he was in office, improvements came. Contrary to his reputation as a "human rights president," however, he failed to end illegal eavesdropping and almost ignored human rights abuses in the North. History will clarify the controversy over whether he retaliated against the media that criticized him by ordering tax audits on the media.

Creating glory and disgrace, and praise and criticism, Kim Dae-jung is now part of history. His footsteps can hopefully serve as the groundwork for the country's democratic development, economic prosperity, and peaceful reunification. May his funeral - a ceremony of saying good-bye amid the people's mourning - be conducted solemnly and sincerely.

(This is a translation provided by the newspaper, and it is identical to the Korean version.)

A GIANT OF OUR AGE LEAVES BEHIND A GREAT MARK  
(Hankyoreh Shinmun, August 19, 2009, page 35)

Former President Kim Dae-jung is no longer with us. Ever since he began his difficult battle with illness, he strengthened himself for when this day was to come. But this day came too soon. Now even the most serious prayer that he might dust himself off, get out of his sickbed and remain with us as a light in a bewildering age has come to nothing. The country and the Korean people still need him desperately, but he has left forever on a road from which he cannot return. With two former presidents gone in the space of just a few months, there are no words to describe the grief suffered by those left behind.

He was a giant who stood tall in Korea's modern history. Throughout his life, he devoted himself unwaveringly to this nation's democracy and human rights, its peace and unification. The modifiers placed next to his name may have changed from time to time, from democracy

fighter to opposition party head to president, but the values and spirit he pursued remained the same. Along the way, there were both successes and failures, and he himself went through some trial and error. But he was the rare politician who walked one path without wavering, through countless twists and turns of history, through whirlpools, hardship and honor.

He was a leader who knew how to go beyond the trends of the time and take a broad view of history. He was also a leader who stood a step ahead of the time and constantly examined the future of the Korean people and the path ahead of them. Since he was a dissident and an opposition party politician, he stoically bided his time while fine-tuning his policy conception, and, after he became president, worked to make it a reality. Because of him, democracy in Korean society became more mature, and the horizons of human rights and welfare grew even broader. It was only during his time as leader that inter-Korean hostility, frozen solid for half a century, finally began to thaw. The scene of him and North Korean leader Kim Jong-il in Pyongyang in 2000, clasping hands and pledging a peaceful future for the Korean people, is an emotional moment that will forever remain in our minds. It was the precious fruit of his consistent determination and conviction that the way for the Korean people to survive was not through confrontation but conciliation, not hostility but cooperation. With this summit meeting, the ROK and North Korea began writing a new history for the peninsula.

He devoted more profound attention and passion to the lowest reaches of society -- the people who have suffered unjustly and bitterly -- than anyone else. That our society went on to develop laws and

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institutions to offer greater consideration toward our neglected neighbors also owes a lot to him. His policy to respond to the demands of a changing society will go down in history as a precious asset to all of us, including the establishment of the Presidential Truth Commission on Suspicious Deaths, the National Human Rights Commission, the enactment of the Act on Compensation and Restoration of Honor of Persons Involved in the Pro-Democracy Movement, the National Minimum Livelihood Protection Law, and the establishment of the Ministry of Gender Equality.

His burning passion did not cool for a moment, even as his life came to an end. Indeed, it burned even more brightly, like the last candle. As this nation's democracy, to which he dedicated his entire life, was once again in jeopardy and inter-Korean relations were racing toward unprecedented crisis, he brought his aged and frail body once again before the public and made a sincere appeal. Let us bring back democracy, he said. Let us save the working class economy and improve inter-Korean relations once again. He urged awakening among the citizens, telling them that "a conscience that does not act is on the side of evil." The topic of the last speech he prepared just before he passed away was the peaceful resolution of problems in inter-Korean relations. In a speech he was invited to give for the European Union Chamber of Commerce, he called on United States President Barack Obama to "make the courageous determination to put an end to antagonistic relations with North Korea." It was none other than the late former President Kim Dae-jung who fought most fiercely to bring back democracy and restore inter-Korean relations even as he battled the demon of illness.

Of course, he was neither a perfect human being nor a flawless politician. A number of dark shadows hang over his long political journey. He was a victim of the chronic regionalism that afflicts Korean society, but at the same time he could not escape criticism that he was a factor in it as well. Nor can he escape comments that he delayed advancement of the political culture with factional politics, boss politics and monarchical party management. Late in his term as president, his ethical reputation suffered a blow due to improprieties involving his sons and associates. While he was alive, he faced as much criticism as praise. He was the target of both more centrist conservatives and hard-right forces, whose persistent attacks continued right up until his condition grew serious. Bernard Krisher, former Tokyo correspondent for the U.S. current affairs weekly Newsweek, said that only when Kim died would the Korean people realize what a great debt they really owe to him.

Now the true judgment of his life and accomplishments is left to history.

He is gone now. Gone forever, without getting to see democracy in full bloom and peace flowing like a river between the ROK and North Korea. The task of realizing the dreams and hopes he could not is left now to others. Before being taken to the hospital, he said, "This nation's democracy, the working class economy and inter-Korean relations are all in crisis. Now I am old and have no strength. What can I do?" It is now we who must answer his question.

We once again lament the passing of former President Kim Dae-jung deep in our hearts and offer our earnest prayers for his happiness in the next world.

(This is a translation provided by the newspaper, and it is identical to the Korean version.)

## FEATURES

U.S. SAYS FIVE-POINT AGREEMENT IS NOT ENOUGH  
(Dong-a Ilbo, August 19, 2009, page 14)

By Correspondent Ha Tae-won

According to an August 17 report by the Associated Press, the U.S. Department of State said it welcomed the five-point agreement that

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was reached between Hyundai Group and North Korea on the resumption of Mt. Kumgang tour, but added that Pyongyang needs to do more (to denuclearize). During a regular briefing, Philip Crowley, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, said, "(The five-point agreement) are welcome steps in and of themselves as gestures that might open the door for renewed dialogue between North and South Korea." He added, however, "These marginal steps, in and of themselves, are not enough. We continue to reiterate what North Korea has to do."

Crowley went on to say, "We want to see them take definitive steps, irreversible steps, towards denuclearization." He emphasized that these (additional steps) would demonstrate North Korea's intention to take a different path from the one it is currently pursuing.

Rose Gottemoeller, Assistant Secretary of State for Verification, Compliance, and Implementation, in an August 17 address to servicemen held at a hotel in Williamsburg, Virginia, said that the U.S. will not tolerate a world where there is even one more nuclear-armed country. She said that it will be a long road to a "nuclear free world" that was envisioned by President Obama in May, adding that the journey will be difficult but it is a journey that (the world) should take.

In this regard, attention is being focused on what moves Philip Goldberg, Coordinator for the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1874, makes during his upcoming August 23-24 visit to Seoul. Goldberg, who leads (an interagency delegation) coordinating the implementation of UN sanctions, will likely indicate where the sanctions are headed in the future.

A high-ranking ROKG official said that Goldberg will explain the involvement of other countries in enforcing the sanctions to the ROKG and discuss the ROKG's participation in efforts to implement UNSC Resolution 1874.

In particular, the ROK and the U.S. will reportedly exchange views on the recent agreement between North Korea and Hyundai Group. The ROKG official said, "There is a need to check if the five-point agreement violates the sanctions of the UNSC resolution," adding, "At present, the agreement does not appear to be in great conflict with the UN resolution." This is because Resolution 1874 makes an exception of assistance for humanitarian and development purposes and does not regulate normal commercial activities at the private level.

However, the possibility cannot be ruled out that a difference of opinions between the ROK and the U.S. over the Hyundai-North Korea agreement may emerge during Ambassador Goldberg's visit. Considering that the purpose of UNSC Resolution 1874 is to block the flow of cash to North Korea, the U.S. might view the Hyundai-North Korea agreement as having a negative impact on the implementation of UN sanctions.

EX-PRES. KIM DAE-JUNG DIES AT AGE 85  
(Dong-a Ilbo, August 19, 2009, Front page: EXCERPTS)

By Reporters Jeong Yong-gwan and Lee Jin-han

Former President Kim Dae-jung, who played a leading role on the country's modern political stage, died yesterday. He was 85.

He was hospitalized at Yonsei Severance Hospital in Seoul with pneumonia on July 13. Kim was connected to an artificial respirator due to acute respiratory distress syndrome resulting from pneumonia and pulmonary thromboembolism, which caused his blood vessels to clot.

He was pronounced dead at 1:43 p.m., yesterday.

Hospital director Park Chang-il said, "First, he was admitted to the hospital due to pneumonia, but his heart stopped working due to multiple organ failure, and this impaired the functions of his

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kidneys, liver and lungs. We did not perform CPR because there was no possibility of extending his life."

The Public Administration and Security Ministry will conduct funeral procedures after consultations with Kim's bereaved family under the State and National Funeral Service Act.

Incumbent President Lee Myung-bak expressed his condolences, saying, "We lost a great political leader. His aspirations and accomplishments for the nation's democratization and inter-Korean reconciliation will long be remembered by the people. I hope his lifelong determination will contribute to inter-Korean reconciliation and social integration."

Both the ruling and opposition parties released statements expressing condolences over Kim's passing.

The former president's life was a microcosm of Korea's checkered political history. In the 1970s and 80s, he and fellow activist Kim Young-sam formed the Donggyo-dong and Sangdo-dong factions and became the country's two leading politicians.

Kim Dae-jung also narrowly escaped death several times while fighting military dictatorships. On Aug. 13, 1973, he was kidnapped by government agents in a Tokyo hotel but survived.

After the 1980 coup d'tat, Kim Dae-jung was sentenced to death on charges of conspiring to conduct a rebellion, but was released from prison due to U.S. pressure. He later went to live in exile in America.

His ability to overcome mounting difficulties earned him comparisons to the honeysuckle, which represents unyielding determination.

Kim Dae-jung, along with Kim Young-sam and Kim Jong-pil formed the "Three Kims" that dominated Korean politics for decades.

While running for president for the fourth time in 1997, Kim Dae-jung cooperated with former adversary Kim Jong-pil, who had ordered Kim Dae-jung's death in the 1970s, to create a coalition that resulted in the country's first horizontal change of power.

As president, Kim Dae-jung helped to overcome the currency crisis that hit Korea just before the 1997 presidential election.

Relations between Kim Dae-jung and Kim Jong-pil broke down due to the former's "sunshine policy" of engaging North Korea. Kim Dae-jung went on to visit Pyongyang in June 2000 to hold the first inter-Korean summit with North Korean leader Kim Jong Il.

In 2000, Kim Dae-jung became the first Korean to win the Nobel Prize for his efforts toward inter-Korean reconciliation. After the Roh Moo-hyun Government took over, however, reports surfaced that Kim Dae-jung gave a huge sum of money to Pyongyang in exchange for holding the summit.

(This is a translation provided by the newspaper, and it is identical to the Korean version.)

PYONGYANG MUM ON PLANS TO SEND DELEGATION  
(JoongAng Daily, August 19, 2009)

By Reporters Ser Myo-ja and Yoo Jee-ho

Former President Kim Dae-jung, who pursued the "Sunshine Policy" with North Korea in an effort to improve inter-Korean relations, died a day after Pyongyang made rare concessions to the ROK.

On Monday, North Korea announced it would restart stalled tourism programs and reopen the border for expanded land passages for South Koreans. And the North said it would do so in the spirit of the June 15 joint declaration, an accord reached during the first inter-Korean summit between Kim and North Korean leader Kim Jong-il

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in 2000. Kim Dae-jung was later awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts. Increased inter-Korean exchanges are part of Kim's legacy. During his administration from 1998 to 2003, there were eight ministerial-level and special envoy-level talks between the Koreas, and more than 5,400 separated family members were reunited on five different occasions.

And as tensions mounted and relations on the peninsula deteriorated this year, Kim became a vocal critic of the Lee Myung-bak Administration and its policy of tying aid to the North to Pyongyang's abandonment of nuclear ambitions. Pyongyang didn't have an immediate reaction to Kim's passing yesterday, but some experts speculated that the North could send a delegation of government officials to Seoul with condolences. North Korea observers noted that Kim Jong-il had shown great respect to Kim.

"Morals exist in a communist society, and we want to show Korea's excellence in courtesy and civility to the world," Kim Jong-il said during the summit, offering Kim the seat of honor during their meeting.

If the North sends a delegation, it will mark a rare contact between the two Koreas that have suffered chilled relations since the Lee Administration began last year. Some are optimistic that the occasion could help thaw the relationship. Others, however, warn against hasty optimism, noting that the North only expressed its condolences for former President Roh Moo-hyun's death in May, instead of sending a delegation. "Since Kim Jong-il had some health problems last year, the North had tended to be reluctant to engage aggressively with the ROK," an ROK official said.

Lee Administration sources and some researchers said the North would instead express its condolences through state-run media or send flowers from Kim Jong-il to comfort the family. A government official said the Monday offer by North Korea to restart joint projects represented only a minor step and has done little to mend inter-Korean relations. Park Han-sik, a North Korea expert at the University of Georgia, said North Korea was unlikely to extend its hand to the ROK first.

"When Roh died, the North contemplated sending a delegation, but made the decision not to do so," said Park, who has recently visited North Korea and is known to maintain regular contacts with Pyongyang. "It has become the sentiment in the North Korean government that it will not engage first in any action with the ROK



government."

Kim's death could also shed new light on his Sunshine Policy. This year, it has come under fire from conservatives who charged that Kim's open-arms approach gave Pyongyang the economic means to conduct nuclear and missile tests in defiance of the international community.

But in light of Kim's passing and North Korea's conciliatory offers, Kim's engagement approach may be remembered more fondly, experts said, and that could potentially create a turning point for inter-Korean exchanges.

SEOUL 'NOT AGAINST' N. KOREAN VISIT OVER KIM DAE-JUNG'S DEATH  
(Chosun Ilbo, August 19, 2009, page 5: EXCERPTS)

By Reporter Shin Eun-jin

The presidential office on Tuesday said it "would not oppose" it if North Korea wants to send a delegation expressing the regime's condolences on the death of former ROK president Kim Dae-jung. "If North Korea sends a condolence delegation, there will be no reason to oppose it," Cheong Wa Dae spokesman Lee Dong-kwan said.

North Korean leader Kim Jong-il apparently feels respect for Kim Dae-jung, who was dedicated to inter-Korean reconciliation and national unification during his lifetime and visited Pyongyang in June 2000 for the first-ever inter-Korean summit.

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All major inter-Korean economic cooperation projects, including package tours to Mt. Kumgang and the joint Kaesong Industrial Complex, which are major income sources for the North, were initiated during Kim Dae-jung's presidency.

Following signs of a thaw in relations after Hyundai Group chairwoman Hyun Jeong-eun's visit to the North, the North is expected to send a senior official to Seoul to pay his respects to the late Kim Dae-jung.

When Kim Dae-jung was in the hospital with pneumonia in 2005, Kim Jong-il sent Kim Ki-nam, the vice chairman of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland, who was in Seoul to attend a National Liberation Day event on Aug. 15, to the hospital to inquire after him.

Any such visit could be led by Kim Yang-kon, the director of the United Front Department of the Workers' Party and chairman of the Asia-Pacific Peace Committee, or Ri Jong-hyok, deputy director of the department and vice chairman of the committee.

Kim Yang-kon, who is in charge of external affairs, was on hand during Hyun's meeting with Kim Jong-il on Sunday. Ri, who has been a point man in business with the ROK, attended a memorial service at Mt. Kumgang for the late Hyundai Group chairman Chung Mong-hun, Hyun's husband.

(This is a translation provided by the newspaper, and it is identical to the Korean version.)

KIM DAE-JUNG: A LIFE OF TRIALS AND STEELY DETERMINATION  
(Chosun Ilbo, August 19, 2009, page 16: EXCERPTS)

By Reporter Kim Min-cheol

The life of former President Kim Dae-jung was too full to describe in a few words. His tumultuous 85 years are so intertwined with Korea's modern history that it is impossible to talk about the nation's hardship and glory without mentioning Kim's name.

- Trials and Tribulations

Kim was given the nickname "honeysuckle," and it is difficult to

find a better way to sum up Kim's life than the flower, which endures the harshest of winters and blossoms in early summer.

Born in January 1924 in South Jeolla Province, Kim was the second son of a poor farmer. He graduated from Mokpo Commercial High School (Jeonnam Jeil High School today) and married his first wife Cha Yong-ae in the port city. It was in Mokpo that he was elected twice as a lawmaker, following his victory in the general election in 1963.

Until he rose to the presidency, Kim's political career was characterized by one tribulation after another. His six years in prison and 10 years under house arrest are a testament to his endurance. Kim often said he had four brushes with death. In September 1950, he was captured by communist soldiers and escaped from Mokpo prison just before he was about to face a firing squad. In 1971, he suffered a mysterious and near-fatal car accident as he was campaigning in support of a New Democratic Party candidate running for a seat in the eighth National Assembly.

When in October 1972, President Park Chung-hee declared new measures to reinforce his authoritarian rule, Kim was unable to return from Japan and remained there in political exile. He rallied anti-Park forces in Japan, prompting Park to have him kidnapped by the Korean Central Intelligence Agency in downtown Tokyo. KCIA agents apparently intended to drown him in the middle of the East Sea but were forced to abort the mission under pressure from the U.S. government.

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Instead, Kim was brought back to Korea and put under house arrest at his home in Seoul. There, he began his pro-democracy movement. In 1976, he was arrested on charges of leading the proclamation of an anti-government manifesto and served a two-year prison term. He was released in 1978 but immediately put under house arrest again.

Kim enjoyed a brief "spring of democracy" following the assassination of Park in 1979, but the new military government that rose to power in 1980 accused him of sedition and conspiracy and in January of 1981, the Supreme Court sentenced him to death. However, international efforts to save him and widespread coverage of his plight in the international press forced the government to commute the sentence to life in prison and then to 20 years imprisonment. He spent two years and seven months in jail.

In December 1982, Kim was exiled from Korea for the second time. This time, he headed to the U.S. He suddenly returned to Korea in February 1985, just ahead of the general election, but was placed under house arrest again. He was finally able to resume political activities following the June 10 pro-democracy demonstrations that swept the country in 1987.

- Failure and Comeback

Kim is seen as a successful politician not just because he became president, but because he had to endure countless defeats and setbacks, as well as the painful process of recovery to reach that point. Even in his darkest hour, his political will never wavered.

His bid for the presidency in 1997 was as an important opportunity to consolidate his status at the center of Korea's political establishment for the next 30 years. He ran for president four times since then and was finally elected as Korea's 15th president in December 1997. It was the first ever peaceful transfer of power for the Republic of Korea since its establishment.

(This is a translation provided by the newspaper, and it is identical to the Korean version.)

KIM DAE-JUNG: CROWNING ACHIEVEMENTS AND LATER LIFE  
(Chosun Ilbo, August 19, 2009, page 17: EXCERPTS)

By Reporter Kim Min-cheol

Kim spent much of his life studying ways to bring the ROK and North Korea closer together. It is impossible to talk about him without mentioning his "Sunshine Policy" of rapprochement with the North. He started the policy immediately after taking office and by 2000, brought about the first summit between the two sides since the Korean Peninsula was divided. In recognition of that achievement, he became the first Korean to win the Nobel Peace Prize.

That is why Kim is considered to have set the framework for inter-Korean reconciliation. But critics accuse Kim of being unprincipled in engaging the North and aiding its nuclear weapons program with an under-the-table payment of \$500 million to arranging the summit.

#### - Presidency

Kim made the transition to Cheong Wa Dae abruptly and without preparation because Korea was in the midst of an economic crisis, taking the helm almost the day after his election win by directing measures to steer the nation out of the crisis. He pushed ahead with so-called "Big Deal" business swaps between the country's major conglomerates, closures of nonviable financial institutions and other painful restructuring measures. As a result, Korea was able to repay all of the loans it received from the International Monetary Fund in August 2001, earlier than expected.

Kim paid as much attention to inter-Korean relations as to the economic crisis. His attentiveness to the issue dates as far back

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as 1971, when he first ran for president. His main focus at that time was on resolving tensions on the Korean Peninsula by pledging a peace guarantee supported by the United States, Japan, the Soviet Union and China. He also pitched a three-stage unification plan that began with a confederation of North and South Korea, transitioning to a federal system and eventual unification. In the confederation, a summit would serve as the highest decision-making body. The federal system would be created once peace takes root on the Korean Peninsula, followed by unification. Because of such political beliefs, Kim was constantly accused of being a communist sympathizer and dangerous progressive.

In November 1998, the first year of Kim's presidency, ROK tourists were granted unprecedented access to North Korea's scenic Mt. Kumgang resort. During his presidency, there were several incidents that could have dampened inter-Korean relations. A North Korean submarine intruded into ROK waters in the East Sea, a tourist was detained in the North Korean resort at Mt. Kumgang, and a bloody naval skirmish occurred along the West Sea border. But Kim did not abandon the Sunshine Policy.

He finally held a summit with North Korean leader Kim Jong-il in June 2000. It was the first time that the leaders of the two Koreas had met in half a century of division. During his historic visit to North Korea between June 13 to 15, the two Kims signed the June 15 Declaration. In recognition of this achievement, Kim, in December of that year, became the first Korean to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. Following the summit, Kim brought about tearful reunions of families who had been separated by the Korean War, and launched a cooperative economic project, the Kaesong Industrial Complex.

Only after Kim's presidential term ended was it revealed that Hyundai Group had paid North Korea \$500 million in the process of arranging the summit, raising suspicions that the various kinds of financial support to the North were used to fuel its nuclear weapons program. This caused many to reassess the merits of the Sunshine Policy.

Despite Kim's rapprochement policies, North Korea conducted two nuclear tests -- one in 2006 and another in 2009 -- damaging the legacy of the Sunshine Policy and unification plan. The final word on his policies remains to be spoken.

Corruption scandals involving his three sons as well as confidants, including Kwon Roh-kap, which began emerging in early 2002, tainted

the final months of Kim's presidency. It was during this period that his health deteriorated and he required dialysis.

Following Korea's first-ever peaceful transition of power, Kim's party was able to maintain its lead since Kim was succeeded by Roh Moo-hyun in February 2003.

#### - Life after the Presidency

After his presidential term ended, Kim continued to serve as a messenger of peace. He traveled to Europe, China, Malaysia and other countries around the world to deliver his message in interviews with the international press. He remained largely silent on political issues during the Roh presidency but resumed his political activities following the inauguration of the Lee Myung-bak Administration in 2008. In numerous interviews and lectures, Kim strongly criticized the Lee Administration's hard-line stance toward North Korea. His aides say his health got worse after the suicide of former President Roh, which was a great shock to the Nobel laureate.

Throughout his life, Kim was seen as a staunch fighter for democracy, a leader of people and messenger of reconciliation. But he was also labeled as being too generous to North Korea and criticized for favoring people from his stronghold in South Jeolla Province by appointing key officials from the region to his government. Now, history will be the judge of Kim's legacy.

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TOKOLA